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Performing the Neighbourhood

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Performing the Neighbourhood

Arij Ouweneel

This chapter is about the meaning that neighbourhood residents give to their community via the medium of fiction films, through which they try to re-create their neighbourhood through narratives. One of its major conclusions is that neighbourhoods are privileged over the city in a broader sense. No wonder – reading the preceding chapters on housing and belonging, one could easily get the impression that the field of urban studies is, in practice, neighbourhood studies. We should sense a certain tension between the institutionalized and personalized perspectives. Scholars zooming in on the neighbourhood level would stress personalized social interactions – which they know very well indeed – whereas scholars discussing urban policies tend to stick with the institutionalized relationships and discuss policies, laws and decrees, and programmes and projects. Interestingly, examples of the latter include two of urban studies’ classic works, which are quoted in this volume several times. In 1972, John F.C. Turner launched his credo of ‘Housing as a Verb’ (J. Turner 1972), and next, some thirty years later, David Harvey published the first of his manifestoes on ‘The Right to the City’ (Harvey 2003; different versions came out in 2008 and 2012), both with urban politicians and activists in mind. However, when scholars need to pair ‘housing’ and ‘belonging’, an emphasis on the analysis of personalized relationships breaks the surface. For example, in their overview of urban history from a local or micro perspective – in this case: Medellín in Colombia – Gerard and Marijke Martin work with Floya Anthias’s definition of ‘belonging’. ‘Asking “where do I belong?”’, Anthias writes (2006: 21), ‘may be prompted by a feeling that there are a range of spaces, places, locales and identities that we feel we do not, and cannot, belong to.’ She concludes that ‘[b]elonging, therefore, involves an important affective dimension relating to social bonds and ties’. In short, belonging is an ‘emotionally charged social location’ – a being involved in social interaction.

Clearly, for us who study the city, this perspective is important – even if we dissociate from the bottom-up/top-down perspectives – because almost all of us do our fieldwork in neighbourhoods. Our Lima is Pampas de San Juan or Comas; our Rio de Janeiro is the Morro Santa Marta; our Belo Horizonte is

the Favela da Serra; our Buenos Aires is La Boca or Puerto Madero; our Santa Marta and our Medellín also consist of two or three squatter settlements as does our Mexico City, with research done in the Chalma Guadalupe, Jardines de Tepeyac, El Sol, Santo Domingo, Isidro Fabela and Liberales settlements. All this fits well in the accepted social science standards of qualitative research that most of us use, because it is practically very difficult indeed for a single researcher or even a group of researchers to get the full picture of an entire city (Hannerz 1980). But this is also the consequence of the qualitative research method itself, because it means getting to know people by observing them and talking to them. This usually implies a limited number of informants. Look around: even in our own daily existence, with how many townspeople do we regularly interact? As a rule, it seems we know – and thus regularly interact with – about 150 people. Most important to us is the group of family members, friends and acquaintances. They live dispersed over the city, the region and the country – perhaps even over the world. If the distance between their homes and ours can be bridged and tided over within reasonable limits, we see them frequently face-to-face. The second group consists of our neighbours, who live next to our homes, in the street and in the neighbourhood in general. We may see them regularly, perhaps sometimes even as friends – but then they are friends and not ‘neighbours’. A third group is made up of the people with whom we work, usually somewhere else in the city; and no doubt the people we meet on our way between work and home. Some may have joined the group of our friends as well, most will not. Outside the ‘150’ are the other city dwellers. Although we may personally know the officials of the urban districts where our houses or apartments are built, and perhaps we may even know city councillors or the mayor, the majority of the people in neighbourhoods would certainly know them only in their official institutional capacities. In short, there is obviously a difference between the institutionalized relationship among neighbourhood dwellers and urban officials – on all levels – and the personalized relationships that the neighbourhood dwellers have with each other.

Reading the preceding chapters one could also easily get the impression that the field of urban studies is based on narratives – specifically, the subjective narratives of our informants. Based on interviews, most social science researchers present narratives about the neighbourhoods of their investigations. In a way, through their research, they turn the city into a narrative, creating a narrative world. Most of us quote a series of individuals and sometimes we paint their life histories. Furthermore, as usual in the social sciences, we build our cases on anecdotes (Gallagher and Greenblatt 2000). All this is not only a consequence of the qualitative method, it also corresponds to the human need for storytelling. We are the storytelling animal, Jonathan Gottschall (2012) tells us. Storytelling is seen as collab-

orative, even in the case of individual authors. People need stories to lead their lives; in the city, in the countryside, anywhere. The stories are as much about mainland (our reality) as about neverland (the world of *Homo fictus*, fiction man) (Gottschall 2012: xiv). The cultural effects of learning from storytelling do not depend on whether the stories are fictional or non-fictional. Narratives call on someone to adapt willingly to the conditions of the narrative: the diegesis in film, the scene in a network news item, the plot of a theatre performance, or a worldview on how housing and cities need to look. Stories, whatever their origins, are encoded in our brains for use in a near or distant future when the situation asks for a script or scenario to survive it by acting ‘properly’. Recent research has shown that ideas, values and behavioural and conversational solutions presented in narratives, stories, essays, journals, literature, theatre and films take root in our brains as potential simulations to influence behaviour (for an overview: Gerrig 1993; Pinker 1997: 521–65; Goleman 2006: 41–42; Oatley 2011: 133–53; Gottschall 2012: 56–67). The importance of fiction comes from the fact that stories transport readers and viewers into simulations of situations in which they may not normally be, including unnatural dangers, thus allowing them to think them through and how eventually to respond to them. For that reason, fictional narratives may have profound consequences in the non-fictional world – as any real-life story – and may alter daily human activities (among others M. Turner 1996; Oatley 1999; Ryan 2004; McAdams et al. 2006; Eakin 2008; Boyd 2009; McLean et al. 2010). Hence, fiction can be studied on the same level as non-fiction stories because fiction is rooted in real life as the outcome of experiences told by groups, nations and societies about themselves – including stories about the origins, the design and arrangement of the world. Fiction is no longer taboo for the social sciences. Even a biologist like David Sloan Wilson reproduces stories in his book, *The Neighborhood Project: Using Evolution to Improve My City, One Block at a Time* (2011). Interestingly, he consciously privileges the neighbourhood, because using evolutionary theories to actively improve the city cannot but work ‘one block at a time’. Following Turner, Wilson writes about activities and interactions, stressing the fact that ‘belonging is a verb’.

Adolescents Determined to Succeed

The narratives and stories about housing and belonging told in the preceding chapters are selected and worded by the researcher. He tries as well as he can to seriously convey the vision of the informants, but this remains nevertheless a ventriloquist position. Therefore, it would be interesting to look for narratives and stories that come from the neighbourhood without the intervention

or mediation of an outside scholar. As an historian of contemporary times, I use fiction film as a source for research, and not so long ago I came across the work of a neighbourhood collective called JADAT (Jovenes Adolescentes Decididos A Triunfar/Young Adolescents Determined to Succeed). In the year 2000, tired of gang violence and saddened by the loss of friends, adolescents from the Cajamarquilla neighbourhood – a sub-division of the peripheral district of Lurigancho-Chosica in eastern Lima – founded the youth organization JADAT. Led by former gang leader Joaquín Ventura Unocc, aka Nando, who was in his early twenties at the time, they wanted to bring the adversaries together for positive action. True, there were outsiders involved, because the group had invited Peruvian non-governmental organization CEPRODEP (Centro de Promoción y Desarrollo Poblacional) – guided by psychologist Juan Carlos Contreras Velásquez – to conduct a pilot project to work with them. They began as a group of approximately twenty young adults and adolescents, children of Andean migrants now in their twenties, who had been promoting the participation of the youth in activities to improve their community. The group did so through theatre workshops, the filming of shorts and the organization of a football competition. It is interesting to note that most of them are former members of local gangs and that they were able to incorporate their leaders into the new youth group through a novel and different proposal: ‘to make movies’. Ventura Unocc began as scriptwriter; later on he switched to directing. He became the group’s senior member. Filmmaker Héctor Gálvez from Callao, Lima, acted as assessor of most films. Some professional actors had given workshops based on the scripts, including Aldo Miyashiro, a leading television personality. In fact, the initiative proved very successful indeed, as gang violence ceased to exist in the community. The major success, however, was not the demise of the gangs but the resurrection of neighbourhood community life in Cajamarquilla.

More than playing football – which excluded the girls – the fictionalization of their past by collective storytelling had a real-life impact. Ventura Unocc told me that two factors had been crucial for JADAT’s success: working on the spot in the neighbourhood itself, and including girls. Gang violence had been generally a male activity; an effective solution needed to include boys on stage acting but with the girls as transforming agents. For sure, the context of the group’s neighbourhood activity had been violence. Gang strife triggered their work. Ventura Unocc said to me that they had had no previous theory about what to do against the gang violence in the district, but unknowingly in their films JADAT has perhaps replicated a well-known psychological intervention method, originally formulated by Gordon Allport in 1954 (see Strocka 2009: 108): the contact hypothesis. It says that contact with members of disliked groups, under appropriate conditions, would improve relations

and decrease prejudice against them as well. The ‘appropriate conditions’ consist of four features: equal status among the groups and members, the pursuit of common goals, intergroup cooperation and institutional support. As can be seen below, all four were present during JADAT’s projects.

Psychologist Cordula Strocka describes a camping expedition with rival *manchas* (groups, in fact: gangs) in Ayacucho, with similar results (Strocka 2009, also 2008: 269–323). In 2003–04, there existed about thirty-five gangs in the city of Ayacucho – locally called by its colonial name of Huamanga – with thousands of members in all. Most of them were children of rural migrants and were living in the marginal neighbourhoods of the city. All gangs were attached to territories in the neighbourhoods. They fought each other with stones and knives. Among the mostly male members, a strong sense of unity and adherence to a symbolic cult of honour prevailed. They caused a lot of inconvenience for the city through petty and violent crime. The camping expedition focused on the leaders of these gangs. The organizers brought together leaders of four rivalling groups. They were quite successful, because after the camping trip was over – it had included the design of common rules, football games and several other activities, and a collective fear of ghosts at night time — the gang leaders had indeed strongly bonded and had even developed a common group identity and several cross-group friendships. The participants were positive about the interaction between the groups and the reduction of intergroup anxiety. However, although some personal friendships lasted, the violence in the neighbourhood could not be prevented. The reason for this failure, I think, is that the interaction had taken place in a different area of the city and between the leaders only, not in the neighbourhoods themselves – not on the spot – and had excluded the majority of the thousand gang members, and most certainly also the girls (on the crucial role of girls in ending gang violence, see Brenneman’s book *Homies and Hermanos* (2012) on the maras of Central America). Compared to this Huamanga experiment, JADAT did a much better job.

JADAT’s first short film, *Días en la Vida* or *Days in a Life* (2001, 19 minutes), is about the life and death of Che Loco, the leader of one of the most frightening gangs of Cajamarquilla. He had been a personal friend of Ventura Unocc and his death had launched the idea of the neighbourhood project. The script of the film was written by locals Kike Cangana, Karla Heredia, Edgar Lifoncio Sullca, Joaquín Ventura Unocc and his brother Jorge Ventura Unocc, all of whom had roles in the film. The DVD says that the film narrates the circumstance of the death of Che Loco, here called Carnal (played by Edgar Rivera): ‘Despised by his father, Carnal participates increasingly in local gang life. He promised his girlfriend to change his behaviour, but perhaps it is too late ...’ After his death, at the cemetery, the girlfriend thinks out loud: “What a waste. Why does the world not

change?” In 2003, JADAT made *Historias Marcadas* or *Marked Stories* (34 minutes) with a similar group based in nearby La Florida. The script was written by locals Maricela Ambrosia, Alan Arancibia, Javier Farfán, Joaquín Quispe and Percy Quispe. Maricela and Percy also took on leading roles; Joaquín Ventura played another leading part, and his brother Jorge directed along with Javier Farfán. This film is based on the life of a group of young people – their love stories, their problems, their illusions regarding the future, the friendships that keeps them together and the violence that surrounds them. Two years later, JADAT made what they consider to be their best film, *Ángeles Caídos* or *Fallen Angels* (2005, 30 minutes), directed by Joaquín Ventura and professional activist filmmaker Felipe Degregori. The script was another local group effort, written by Jhon Oblitas Arriola, Katy Salvador Vega, Lizet Quispe Ñaupas, Joaquín Ventura Unocc and Jorge Ventura Unocc. Jorge Ventura, Lizet Quispe and Katy Salvador also played major parts. The film depicts the life of a young man, Piter (Jorge Galarreta Mozombite), who decides to get away from the gangs, alcohol and drugs after falling in love with Valery (Lizet Quispe). As a result, he joins the youth organization JADAT. The fourth project, *De Niña a Mujer* or *From Girl to Woman* (2006), deals with adolescent pregnancy; and a fifth, *Un Mundo Sin Colores* or *A World Without Colors* (2007), pictures the impossibility of a romance between a poor boy from Lurigancho-Chosica and a rich girl from southern Lima. Several of the films are supported by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the German technical social cooperation service DED (Deutscher Entwicklungsdienst).¹ The participants – former adversaries turned friends – saw to it that gang violence disappeared from the neighbourhood.

A number of narrative themes return in almost every JADAT film. First, of course, the stage is set in Cajamarquilla Paraíso. JADAT wants to portray life in the neighbourhood. Boys and girls are filmed walking and chatting on the major street of the district – a kind of dusty promenade with shops and bus stops. Regularly, boys are hanging out on street corners at the edges of the community, somewhat removed from the promenade. They drink and, in some sequences, take drugs, usually inhaling adhesives. Girls generally walk in groups as well but rarely hang around out of boredom as the boys do. Their focus is on the basketball and football field that functions as the district’s central plaza; sometimes they go to a party or an improvised disco. The adolescents sometimes meet in their houses. Although the boys and girls do have their own rooms, so it seems, they receive their friends in the living room, which is directly connected to the front door. The dwellings are poorly built, with adobe bricks that are whitewashed on the inside. Furniture is sparse, old and usually in a bad state. Curiously, adornment is mostly limited to illustrated calendars. There are television devices and, occasionally, simple

sound equipment. The roofs are poor; it almost never rains in this desert area. There are no showers; people use buckets to wash themselves. Water is brought in by huge trucks and sold to the people. It is obvious that the adolescents' parents, with the exception of one or two, have no resources to improve their dwellings.

A second theme is the generation gap. The films are not about poverty per se. All boys and girls have something to do. They go to school or little by little they earn a living. They own relatively little and even for drinking they need to borrow coins from someone who has earned a bit more. In sequences depicting the 'bad boys' of the district, the viewer is confronted with robbery and assaults for them to get money and clothing. These bad boys drink and sniff drugs out of despair over their relationships with their parents. Girls also continually complain about this. Although we learn about the lack of respect and recognition, arguments are rarely shown. Boys complain about their fathers, girls about their mothers. This is in line with recent findings in human development psychology, which suggest that a boy's self-esteem is influenced by both his mother and father's parenting behaviour, whereas a girl's self-esteem is mainly influenced by her mother's behaviour. In addition, the findings provide partial support for the notion that parenting influences on psychological outcomes vary based on neighbourhood context (Bámaca et al. 2005). It is striking that JADAT reserves little room for parents in their films. Sometimes a father is shown, usually drunk and violent towards his son. Mothers are filmed working in the house in the background or, interestingly, defending their sons against their fathers. The adolescents in the films conclude that they have to earn respect from each other by moving on in life – *superar* (overcome) – by their own initiative. Nothing can be expected from their parents.

The notion of respect is key for understanding adolescents' behaviour, including gang life. In his pivotal book on the idea of the crucial social emotion that holds societies together, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, sociologist Erving Goffman speaks of embarrassment as the master emotion of social life (1969 [1959]). Goffman preferred this word – says Thomas Scheff (2006), another sociologist – due to a taboo against the concept of shame in Western culture. Intricately linked to shame/embarrassment is respect. Psychologists would think in terms of high or low self-esteem. If we look at respect and pride, attunement with others would be their fundamental basis and lack of attunement would result in shame and lack of respect or even disrespect. 'One is rewarded by pride to the extent that one participates, level by level, in the cognitive structure of mutual awareness', says Scheff (2006: 84), referring to the pride/shame continuum of social emotions, 'and punished by shame ...' In his formulation, respect is 'an emotional/relational correlate of the pride end of the pride/shame continuum'. From her research

on ‘young men of a violent life’ in the poorer districts of Caracas, Venezuelan sociologist Verónica Zubillaga (2009) also concludes that the discourses of violent life focus on a ‘search for respect’. Strocka (2009: 129) deduces from her research among gang members in the city of Ayacucho, Peru, that one of the major reasons why gangs fight each other is ‘that by presenting themselves as tough and aggressive and by taking over a territory, *mancheiros* [group/gang members] acquire a certain degree of respect and status, which they feel unable to achieve by nonviolent means such as education or employment’.

Zubillaga (2009: 87–94) recognized ‘four demands of respect’. First, the demand for preservation challenges the threat to physical integrity and helplessness that results from the deinstitutionalization of security and justice. Second, the demand for affiliation comes from the need to be accepted and recognized by others and by the community – including the parents’ generation – and if this is problematic then at least as part of a peer group. Third, the demand for economic participation fights informality in a society where social mobility is associated with informal or illegal economic activity and hence is perceived as an empty promise. Fourth, the demand for ascendance is linked to a traditional model of masculine respect, like being the centre of a family or group, giving orders or caring for a community. The Andean highlands, the region of origin of the parents of the Cajamarquilla Paraíso adolescents, stand out as a typical shared experiential world, where the future of the young resembles that of their parents (Bolin 1998 and 2006). In the city this may also be the case, but not so if the migrants have arrived in the city with a rural culture in mind while needing to raise their children for the urban world. In such cases where deinstitutionalization of family life prevails, mutual generational respect, inevitably important in social attunement, might fail. JADAT shows that in Cajamarquilla Paraíso it did.

The third theme of the films is change. The world is at a dead end in Cajamarquilla Paraíso, especially because of drinking, gang life and the generation gap. Something must happen. Gang life must be ended and peace must return to the district. As the characters express, the problems originate from the lack of respect that the boys earn from their fathers and from the continuous quarrels at home between daughters and mothers. The ‘edges’ of the four corners – where the boys hang out in despair – must be drawn towards the centre again: the central plaza, where football is played and the girls chatter. In fact, the girls play a decisive role in pulling the strings again. They try to persuade the boys to change – and mostly with success. JADAT offers the boys an instrument to regain respect, as does participation in organized football teams with their professional gear. The intensity to force change reminds me of the Andean concept of *pachacuti*, cataclysms or ‘turning of the times’. This typical Andean concept combines time and place. In

Andean belief, time is cyclical, in which linear time has little meaning. Every cycle begins with creation after a reversal or inversion of time (*pachacuti*). The changing force is called *wiracocha* or *wiracochas*. The end occurs at the edges, at the fringes – in JADAT’s films where the boys hang out, drinking and robbing – whereas the new beginning starts at the centre, where JADAT holds office and organizes events, including football games and theatre performances. The behaviour of the adolescents in Cajamarquilla Paraíso shows that they experience their life today as part of a *pachacuti* (Randall 1982: 48–9; Urbano 1991: 342).

The change that the girls want has to do with the defeat of the edges by the centre. This sounds like the Andean concepts of a change from *hurin* to *hanan*. Hurin is lower, at the edges, subaltern, older, past; whereas hanan is upper, in the centre, newer, today. At a *pachacuti*, a lower world is turned into an upper world, and inferior becomes superior, former latter, minority majority, past a present or future, dark turns into light, inside becomes outside, and all this mostly at the same time. During the *pachacuti* the centre is also dark; dark is hanan then. This means for Cajamarquilla Paraíso that violence and gang life had taken the centre for a while. During this period, the girls were in danger of being harassed or even raped and were kept at home. In most JADAT films this is the case in the earlier sequences. However, their ‘former hanan’ must become hurin by the *pachacuti* procedure, sitting in the antechamber to take over hanan – taking it back – whenever possible, in these gang-based times of deep trouble, disarray and chaos. Through JADAT and the ‘conversion’ of key boys to the juvenile course, the girls succeed in changing Cajamarquilla Paraíso.

The Gridiron Pattern is Older than the Colony

For drawing serious conclusions, my material is not sufficient. Thus far in this chapter I have presented the JADAT films as contributions to the available repertoire of simulations from which the people of Cajamarquilla can choose when the situation asks for it. The simulation theories of the psychologists convince us that the films may have actually worked this way – and indeed, all locals involved have told me that the films have done so. But because of the hypothetical situation in which we find ourselves, we are invited to further explore theories – after all, this contribution is an exercise in applied psychology. I think there are two elements that need further theorization. First, trying to find an answer to the question of why the simulations as such might have worked. Second, there is the question of whether or not the joint activity – the interaction of making films together – might have contributed to the changes in Cajamarquilla. For the first question, the Peruvian film

Paraíso (*Paradise*, 2009), written by Bárbara Acosta and directed by Héctor Gálvez, might help. The film shows us Gálvez and Acosta's version of life in the Cajamarquilla neighbourhood, based on the stories that the JADAT members had told them. Because Gálvez and Acosta are outsiders, not unlike university scholars, I leave the discussion of their film to another occasion. Nevertheless, two scenes in *Paraíso* are interesting to include here because they articulate a vision of the full 'body' of that Lima neighbourhood – from a birds'-eye perspective – taking into account the deep history of its inhabitants:

[1] The choice of the musical score that the viewer hears during the opening scenes and credit titles establishes beyond any doubt that we are in Peruvian popular circles. The Andean cumbia is typical for Lima. With the first images, the film turns silent. A young man, dressed in football gear and a baseball cap, walks through a dry and desolate landscape among the remains of a pre-Hispanic civilization. He stops at the grave of a deceased friend and leaves some food for the deceased, mainly pieces of white bread and a kind of chocolate bar. Then, from a rock next to the ruins, we see him looking at the district where he lives, some thirty metres below him. The neighbourhood is poor, poverty stricken perhaps, and dusty. The houses are one- and two-story buildings, square or rectangular, set in the gridiron pattern that defines so many of this kind of district. Even the parts at the back, built on the lower sides of a hill, sit in this format. A city bus passes by; no doubt on his way to older parts of Lima.

[2] [An hour later in the film.] Three boys and two girls walk through the desert that surrounds the neighbourhood. The young man from the opening scene is with them. He seems to be their leader. Again, they visit the shrine of their deceased friend. They talk about him as if he is really there with them. "Let's pray for Che Loco, and for ourselves too, to get our wished granted," one of the girls says. Next, they climb one of the stony hills, to visit Che Loco's favourite spot. It is high up, and has a cave-like appearance. The five sit down in two covered spots that look like cave entrances. They look down at Cajamarquilla. After a few silent minutes, the leader starts shouting: "*Concha tu madre!*" [*"Fucking hell!"*] The others follow him, yelling as hard as they can. The camera moves to the left, also looking at the neighbourhood down below. We see the well-ordered blocks – about seven by four – surrounded by the stony and sandy hills of the desert, at the fringes of the Peruvian capital. As from afar we hear street noises.

The scenes show the close articulation between the neighbourhood adolescents, the vision of their lives, and the neighbourhood as a whole, depicted as a rectangular gridironed body – the ordered arrangement of streets in a regular grid pattern, intersecting at right angles. By cursing and condemning

Cajamarquilla as a whole, the five youngsters address the neighbourhood as a body. This embodiment is a normal human personification, of course, but it is in this case associated to its morphology.

What always strikes me, walking through much of these neighbourhoods – spontaneously created building blocks of the mounting urban culture that can be found all over Latin America – is their very orderly architecture. No one, no state, no community officials force the settlers to settle along the gridiron pattern shared by most neighbourhoods region wide. In general, people do things because they have learned it somehow. In this sense, gridiron-designed Cajamarquilla is a recreation, or a replica, of the quintessential way of physically building the ‘city’ in Latin America. Over the past century, or perhaps for even longer, Latin Americanists have believed that this pattern was introduced by the colonizers. The ‘quintessential’ neighbourhood is seen as a Spanish-European renaissance invention. In a paper published in the journal *Cities* half a decade ago, Axel Borsdorf, Rodrigo Hidalgo and Rafael Sánchez (2007: 369, Figure 1) reproduced this image in text and graphically in four models (based on Borsdorf, Bähr and Janoschka 2002: 305, Abb. 1). The story goes from the first model, a ‘compact city model’ from colonial times (1550–1820), to the fourth, the chaotic ‘fragmented town’ or the ‘contemporary city structure’ (ca. 2000). The first of the four models shows us a perfect square with several smaller perfect squares inside – the smallest as its centre – while the last model consists of chaotic imperfect circles, sliced through or overlapped by smaller circles, squares and rectangles. In Figure 13.1, I have tried to replicate the model by Borsdorf, Hidalgo and Sánchez, though in a somewhat more simplified form. It gives models one and four only; I left models two and three out. The modelling by Borsdorf et al. of the fragmented city to the right is much richer. It comes as no surprise – their argument is to sketch a development from ‘order’ to ‘fragmentation’; the idea was that something had gone wrong over the centuries, that the city had fallen ill. ‘In terms of the city the intimate relation between urban space and the human body’, says Svend Erik Larsen (2004: 27; also: Sennett 1994), a literary scientist, ‘has been a point of reference since Vitruvius defined spatial proportions of the city from the ideal proportions of the human body in the first century AD’.

In principle, authors prefer to look at the city as a body fully intact and functioning well. Today, no city can satisfy this requirement. Hence, the urbanists will speak of incapacitated cities, fragmented cities, or even ‘monsters devouring souls and Nature, as animals recovering from the blows meted out to them, or as organisms growing without limit or logic’ (Walther and Matthey 2010). Such metaphors are not just for use in conversation. Metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980) told us, is one of the most fundamental mechanisms of the human mind, allowing us to use what

The colonial city, compact

The contemporary fragmented city

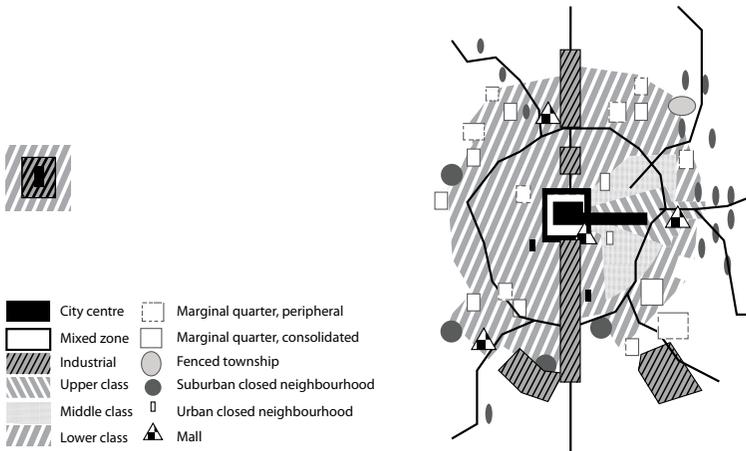


Figure 13.1 Two models of urban development in Latin America after Borsdorf et al.

we know from our bodily existence to provide understanding of countless other subjects (see also: Gibbs, Jr. 2005). The world is categorized to our being moving around on earth. Metaphors can be recognized behind general political attitudes and specific political practice (Lakoff 1987 and 2008). Scholars, politicians, officials, journalists and activists would set out to cure the sick body or even to exorcize the Devil Within.² Curiously, the metaphor provides for a mature body; cities in the past were in some ‘childhood’. Contemporary cities are not treated as children – neither were they in the past. In a sense, this can be understood from the City-as-Body, or CaB, metaphor as well: the unhealthy, sick or even monstrous city of today was once safe, healthy and nice: innocent as a child. Because the CaB tells us that the city must have grown over time, older cities could be depicted as such tiny but ‘whole’ children – not mature but nevertheless well structured. Borsdorf et al. show us the growing period of the Latin American city. The city matured in the twentieth century, but something went wrong: ‘childhood’ unity was lost, the city became fragmented. The ensuing policy was to heal the body – as a whole – and combat fragmentation.

Growing older, the CaB became ill and urbanists stepped in to heal it. Borsdorf et al. say that, contrary to the contemporary fragmented city, the colonial city had not been of any economic significance because the city was not involved in trade networks. We can read in ‘A Model of Latin American City Structure’, by Ernst Griffin and Larry Ford (1980), that during the colonial period ‘cities in Spanish America were thoroughly regulated by

provisions in the Laws of the Indies that mandated everything from treatment of the Indians to the width of streets'. We find this in many other studies as well, for example in Daniel Goldstein's *The Spectacular City* (2004: 6–10). However, decades of historical research have demonstrated that a large gap existed between official regulations and historical practice. Historically, urban development has not taken place this way. The urbanists' official narrative is wrong. Borsdorf's model, shared by many urbanists, gives us an incomplete picture. I will leave a discussion of the fragmented part of the model for another occasion. Now, *ojo*, as the Mexicans say; careful: in 2002, Borsdorf et al. were basically interested in the contemporary fragmented city, not in its colonial roots. Their article consists of fifteen columns of text, and only one of these describes the situation in the colonial period. In all fairness, I have to acknowledge that the works by Borsdorf and his colleagues in Germany and Chile are ultimately rooted in works like Griffin and Ford (1980) – discussing the colonial city in only one out of fifty paragraphs. With so little attention, is it important? Well, in Borsdorf's work the accompanying graph is, because this leaves the impression that we are dealing with an unhealthy or sick mature body that has violently lost its former, almost harmonious childhood.

What is important here is its historical roots – its 'childhood'. As a colonial historian, I feel confident to state that the colonial city – for the most part – had much more in common with the right part of Borsdorf's model than with the left part. It is not true that the colonial city was mainly administrative. Trade, especially domestic trade, was actually very important (Ouweneel 1996 and 1998). Of course, there were no modern highways, train stations or airports and the cities were much smaller. But this is a matter of scale only, not of principle. The colonial cities were not compact or squared at all. True, sixteenth-century Spanish officials took the well-known ancient Roman grid-iron urban planning system to the Americas in order to fulfil some classical European ideal. In two clarifying figures, Adriaan Van Oss demonstrated the tension between real settlement and the official gridiron layout. The figures show the distribution of the population of the colonial city of Tunja, Colombia, in 1623, mapped in a star-like form on an almost perfect gridded pattern. Regulation was acknowledged because everyone lived according to the pattern, but for the traveller entering the city the star-like distribution of the buildings must have been obvious (Van Oss 2003: 172–73, Figures 1 and 2). Other studies confirm that the colonial cities had industrial parts dispersed throughout, sometimes from near the city centre to the outskirts. Members of the elite lived in the centre, but sometimes also in blocks at some distance. For their entertainment, the population – elite or poor – in Mexico City, Lima and Cuzco, to name a few, went to parks outside the city centre, not to its central plaza (for example Ramos Medina 2001). Furthermore, several cities had specific 'gated' quarters, especially set apart for the so-called

indios (Indian), members of the *república de indios* (Indian republic) or Amerindian Order.

On closer examination, we must conclude that the gridiron plan was not imported from Europe at all. It finds its origins in the pre-Hispanic period. Indeed, the gridiron plan in urban design is indigenous to Latin America. Long before the conquest, Amerindians built their cities according to the dictum ‘in the four corners, in the centre’, as it became known in our days (Freidel, Schele and J. Parker 1993; Medina 2000). Teotihuacan (near modern-day Mexico City), for example, is the largest ancient grid-plan site in the Americas. The city’s grid covered eight square miles. The city is thought to have been established as early as 100 BC. At its zenith, in the first half of the first millennium, the city consisted of more than 200,000 inhabitants. Teotihuacan had been a centre of industry, home to many potters, jewelers and craftsmen – its economy was based on the manufacture of obsidian tools and utensils. Even then, there were quarters for the rich and the poor, some even to be described as ‘marginal quarters’ dispersed over the city (Manzanilla and Pérez-Duarte 1994; Matos Moctezuma 2009; Arnauld, Manzanilla, and Smith 2012). In the first half of the sixth century, the centre was ritually destroyed by the inhabitants themselves, after decades of deterioration. In the Andes, the grid planning can be recognized in most urban settlements, both in the highlands and on the coast – from early pre-Hispanic times to the Inca period – and continued in town settlements during the colonial era, including settlements founded not under Spanish surveillance. The rigid pattern includes cities, towns, villages, palaces, individual stone buildings and raised field systems of agriculture. Ollantaytambo, north-east of Cuzco, is a well-known example because of its contemporary character as a major tourist attraction. Less visited but more intriguing is the Wari settlement of Pikillacta, twenty kilometres east of Cuzco. The site is rigid in form, ignoring topographical features, and, interestingly, the central plazas and patios tend to be rectangular instead of square. One notable exception to all this, of course, is Machu Picchu, although it does have its rectangular centre. (For the Andes, see: Hemming and Ranney 1982; Kolata 1993; Morris and Von Hagen 1993; Moore 1996; Von Hagen and Morris 1998.) In short, the squared formation was an ideal, inherited from the pre-Hispanic cities – Spanish regulation had confirmed something already in place.

Significantly, apart from the grid, the pattern is drawn ‘around’ – perhaps ‘squared’ is a better word – a centre and four corners. This was ritually important all over the ancient Americas. In pre-Hispanic times, creation stories involved the creation of the world by ‘raising the sky’ – terminating a long period of darkness by introducing the sun and the moon – and the foundation of human settlement by the unfolding of ‘four partitions, four corners’ (Freidel, Schele and Parker 1993: 113). This means that there was

no centre without its corners and vice versa. This principle has guarded community bonding ever since. During my own research into colonial settlement patterns, the so-called *pueblos de indios* (Indian village) or towns administered by the *república de indios* (Ouweneel 1996, and 2005), I recognized similar planning principles. There was usually a square or rectangular centre, and there were four neighbourhoods or wards, stretching out from the centre into the four corners. Ideally, each ward participated in town government, mostly taking turns by the year, clockwise. This was in line with the idea of space as time, with the centre representing the present and the future, and the areas further away representing older periods. In the Andes, older periods are also regarded as ‘below’ or ‘under’ – *hurin*. The centre is ‘current’ and therefore ‘upper’ or ‘above’ – *hanan*. If the town is falling apart, the groups living in *hurin* need to join hands and take over the powers in *hanan*. This pattern blends time and space, story and settlement. All this means that the twentieth-century fragmentation – described by authors like Borsdorf and his colleagues, or by Griffin and Ford twenty years before them, and Goldstein and many others more recently – caused by natural population growth, mass immigration from rural sectors, and the politics of neo-liberalism and monetarism should be investigated on its own contemporary mapping, not as the ‘mature body’ of a century-old organism. The CaB metaphor has misled many contemporary urban theorists, seducing them to follow a mistaken narrative. A more historically correct theory is inevitable. Recreating the gridiron pattern, the Andean migrants in Lima, for example, confirmed the ancient recreation of the urban body. They had indeed ‘mined’ an indigenous cultural resource in trying to give social and collective meaning to their new settlement, modified no doubt over and over again without losing its key aspects – history legitimizes the community’s present existence.

Thinking is for Doing

The very same happens in JADAT’s storytelling. Drawing out a series of cultural resources from the Andean past of the neighbourhood population, JADAT uses cultural knowledge that has survived from ancient times. In psychology, psychological anthropology and linguistics, the building blocks of cultural knowledge like this are called schemas. They are structural mental frameworks for the portrayal, storage and communication of information about behaviour in specific situations in specific moments (Markus 1977; Markus and Kitayama 1991; Shore 1996; Nishida 1999; Sumbadze 1999; Garro 2000; Ouweneel 2005 and 2007). Schemas are also shared cognitive representations (whether real or imagined) of a class of people, objects, events or situations, thereby representing aspects of the world as organized

patterns of thought or behaviour, structured clusters of preconceived ideas that help us to organize social information. Schematic encoding and decoding occur rapidly, automatically and unconsciously. An important contribution to the founding of schema theory was made by Frederick C. Bartlett in his book *Remembering* (1932). Assuming that cultures are organized collectives with shared customs, institutions and values – of which members form ‘strong sentiments’ around valued, institutionalized activities – Bartlett was among the first to take up the question of culture and memory. These values and their expression through culture shape psychological tendencies to select certain kinds of information for remembering. The cultures have assimilated knowledge through their operation and then constituted schemas upon which the universal process of reconstructive remembering operates. Perceiving and thinking in terms of schemas enables people as individuals and as groups to process large amounts of information swiftly and economically. Instead of having to perceive and remember all the details of each new person, object or situation someone encounters, they are recognized as an already encoded schema, so that combining the encoding of this likeness with their most distinctive features is sufficient. Driven simultaneously by structure and meaning and represented propositionally, schemas are actively constructed neuronal networks.³

Because schemas are interrelated, forming a network to generate interactive behaviour, a change in one schema causes changes in all the others and finally in the entire system. Nevertheless, specific changes, for example, in the self-schemas are made only after continued experience of severe failure in particular situations. Once formed, people tend to keep their schemas intact and to protect them for as long as sustainable, by uncritically relying on their own previous judgements. Schemas tend to become increasingly resistant to inconsistent or contradictory information, although as Hazel Markus notes, ‘they are never totally invulnerable to it’ (Markus 1977: 64). Schema-disconfirming information is in general disregarded or reinterpreted. While individuals build schemas unique to their personal experience, their schemas are confined to the forces of culture and language. When people communicate, they depend on shared schemas. Although the number of schemas is infinite, some may be easily foregrounded (Fiske 1992; Hogg and Vaughan 1995: 49; Atkinson, et al. 1996: 598–600; Hilton and Von Hippel 1996: 240, 248–51; Kunda and Thagard 1996; Nishida 1999). For example, where we speak of ‘me’ and ‘I’, the active schema in our brains is called a self-schema. Schemas about ‘what ought to be’ are referred to as attitudes. The stereotype is a schema to classify people in general. An important procedural schema is called an event schema or script, which contains encoded sequences of events in particular situations or places, or between groups of people – believed likely to occur and used to guide our behaviour in familiar

situations. Even the experience of illness may be conceptualized as schematic. Hawaiian psychologists Jeanne Edman and Velma Kameoka have shown how event schemas that provide information pertaining to illness events exist. Illness schemas, they write, ‘can be viewed as mental representations of the illness concept’ (Edman and Kameoka 1997: 252). Illness is the interpretation of disease and a person’s illness schema is the ‘conceptualized link’ between disease and illness – and so is cure.

Storytelling also uses schemas. Cultural psychologist Michael Cole stresses that a story schema is at hand in the ‘narratives-people-tell-themselves’ (Cole 1996: 119–20, 125). The story schema consists of sets of expectations about how stories progress. It refers to any kind of story, from the flight of a bird from one tree to another or the graph representing economic decline, to the fairy tale of Red Riding Hood or the novel *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. With the aid of artefacts, narratives are transferred through learning to the next generation. Each narrative survives generation after generation, until ‘something better’ is found. As more instances are encountered, story schemas become more abstract and less tied to concrete instances. They also become richer and more complex, as more data needs be processed or ‘modernized’. We may recognize complexes of local schemas as the culture people inherit and may describe these as ‘living’ at a certain point in space and time. Cueing is culturally dependent – limited to space and time, to its ‘residence’. Certain cueing of schema activation is, so to speak, a feature of certain groups of people who share language, religion, ideologies and norms and values. They share the same cultural memory. The artefacts are the instruments people use to assist the process. Cole advises his readers to understand artefacts as both material objects manufactured by humans and as something produced by material culture. This definition includes texts. The artefact is material and ideal, conceptual. Triggered by artefacts, schemas also tell Latin Americans how stories should develop, and hence how developments may advance. Because schemas have places of residence during specific periods of time, they were no doubt used by the inhabitants of Cajamarquilla to build their neighbourhood. It is as if the new builders used a specific neighbourhood schema to build their houses, the blocks, the central plaza and other elements. It was a rebuilding of an older plan, the use of a script rooted in history, which they had inherited from the past. And as indicated, the gridiron schema is pre-Hispanic and indigenous to Latin America.

At a certain time and place, culture is the activity of the people present, produced with the resources in their surroundings, the old material world and the new world they create: information from next of kin, community members, migrants and the media. ‘Thinking is for doing’, explained Susan Fiske (1992). Building almost literally on past experience, Cajamarquillas erected their neighbourhood by acting out replicated and renovated schemas

several times. Because humans are a social species, inevitably – says sociologist Randall Collins (2004), following Erving Goffman’s (1967) pioneering work – this ‘doing’ should be understood within the context of interaction, even if done seemingly completely alone. For Collins, the ‘doing’ is a Durkheimian ritual, ‘a mechanism of mutually focused emotion and attention that produces a momentarily shared reality, which thereby generates solidarity and symbols of group membership’ (2004: 7). It is a ‘doing’ by a people – from the lone individual ‘interacting’ with virtual others to larger groups in a specific place and at a specific moment – and it produces, if done well, feelings of participation and community, or success and failure at the other end of the spectrum. The most effective interaction ritual bolsters institutional stability through its major product, which Collins calls emotional energy, abbreviated as EE. Humans are hardwired to experience emotions – in fact, without emotions we cannot make even the simplest of decisions. Because the gathering of EE is such a central motivating force, affect must be viewed as the engine of social order – and where failed rituals in turn drain emotional energy, the ‘society’ may collapse. This means that where people interact, there are always emotions involved.

Seen from this micro-sociological perspective, belonging and housing are examples of interactions; ‘doings’ with the home, the family, the circle of friends, the street, the neighbourhood, the district and the city as their stages. If successful, this interaction process generates increasing EE, sufficient to ‘feel to belong’. Goffman’s and Collins’s theories on social interaction ritual fit well in this paradigm, as extensions of schema theory. This gives a slightly different wording of ‘belonging’: as the EE produced by the social interaction of a group of people living together in a street, a quarter or a neighbourhood. The neighbours contribute with their own mental schemas about living together, and during the interaction process they produce – active of course, but also passive – new mental schemas, including norms and values. Collins explicitly presents the process as a chain of interactions holding on to the mental schemas as long as they are useful to the group. This means that every new social interaction between neighbours can modify, change or replace the mental schemas in operation between them at any moment and in any capacity. Every scholar studying the neighbourhood will typically only take ‘snapshots’ of this process, concentrating on the mental schemas active during the interactions that the scholar observes.

As mentioned above, due to the obvious physical restrictions of human face-to-face actions, most successful interaction rituals can only occur at lower levels; in other words, at home – as Ann Varley has just stressed – but also with family and friends, in the street, and with the neighbourhood. The district or even the city at large involves too many people – practical, not in principal, because the identification with the larger imagined community

may generate sufficient EE to, for example, follow the national football team or to go to war enthusiastically (as happened in Europe in 1914). Contrary to the inner and neighbour circles, the wider society comes with a relatively loose network, consisting of different kinds of groups and situations. Collins (2004: 117) points to a theory that ‘predicts [that] the result of cosmopolitan network structure is individualism, relativistic attitudes towards symbols, abstract rather than concrete thinking’. He proposes that all persons flow from situation to situation, drawn to those interactions in which their cultural capital gives them the best emotional energy pay-off. Thinking, too, can be explained by the internalization of conversations within the flow of situations; individual selves are thoroughly and continually social, constructed from the outside in. In Cajamarquilla, during the interaction ritual, the carrying out of the building schemas created or recreated a sense of community among them – the EE being the outcome of this activity. Because of the quantity of historical knowledge that is involved, it was a ‘doing’ that could be seen as the practice of cultural memory. For Goffman, one of Collins’s heroes, this was performance. The performance of neighbourhood is the same as the interaction ritual, acting out scripts historically encoded in the gridiron schema.

This makes the circle round, because it cannot be but the same performance that went into JADAT’s films – which explains the outcome of the filming activities: reduced gang violence. Schema theory helps to understand that the traditionally recognized gap between ‘real life’ and fiction might have been exaggerated. Schemas are used to act and behave in situations on stage. Humans are actors and any role on a stage is scripted; such scripts form parts of schemas. Collaborative storytelling, founded on cultural schemas, needs actors performing a character to help us manage social realities by thinking about them, improving the schemas of their behaviour and potentially developing better social skills. As mentioned above, fiction rooted in stories and narrative groups, nations and societies tell about themselves how they should live and build their settlements – their ‘collective body’. This implies, indeed, that the adolescents of JADAT created their films directly from life – as, in fact, they argued in several ‘making-of’ segments published on the YouTube website and on their DVDs. They also stressed this when I visited JADAT in 2010, adding that they hardly considered their films to be fiction.

Hypothesis

By way of conclusion, I would like to end with a kind of hypothesis: belonging is the EE result of the performance of community. This can be recognized in both the stories told in previous chapters and the ones in JADAT’s films. The main premise defended so far is that specific cultural resources,

especially the ones focused on Andean time and space, accommodate the patterns of residence and housing of a community. The ‘performance’ of the JADAT youth was finally in line with the ‘stage’ itself; something that their parents – mostly victims of the 1980s warfare – had failed to do. The intensity of interaction (Collins) recognizable in co-presence, the building of real or virtual barriers, the raising of mutual attention and an awakening of a shared mood or collective consciousness can easily be recognized in the work of JADAT. No wonder that the sequences of the films I have discussed combine popular music, the pre-Hispanic heritage (the ruins), remnants of contemporary Andean beliefs (feeding the recently deceased), and the grid-iron plan in urban design. This very same sequence is present in most other JADAT films as well. We are looking at a performance of the quintessential neighbourhood, and the large city of Lima is far away.

In fact, how important is the city in these people’s construction of community? The major result of the performance of neighbourhood is the translation of the sense of belonging into ‘Us versus Them’. The neighbourhood not only comes out of an interaction with Us but sometimes also in reaction to an opponent, hence its probable conflictive nature. Communities are drawing boundaries, and they do so in a mainly symbolic way (Collins 2004: 32). This kind of effervescent interaction produces heightened mutual awareness and emotional arousal, which in turn gives rise to sentiments that *‘can only be prolonged by symbols’, ‘group emblems, markers of group identity’* (Collins 2004: 37 and 36, both quotes in italics in the original, also 32). This observation applies to a range of interactions from, for example, crofting by neighbours or football hooligans singing club songs in a stadium, to youth gangs fighting in a major Latin American city. Any form of Us and Them interaction – aggressive or not – serves the cohesion of identifying and constructing ‘natural units’, as anthropologist Peter Mewett (1986) preferred to call them, a category relevant to the local conceptualization of spatial organization and discernible only through local ‘knowledge’ – mental schemas – and without affecting structural links. The ‘natural unit’, constructed during interaction both in sociocultural space and through interaction chains over time, is symbolic because it does not have an independent existence – it is not an officially institutionalized unit – and it is considered ‘natural’ because it came out as ‘normal’ and ‘proper’ during the interaction process, reflecting the feeling of, ‘that is the way things are’. A ‘community’ serves a purpose: the engagement with Them by Us, and thus the establishment of who is Us and who is not. The boundaries of the community are implied in the contextualization of everyday life, not in official legal mapping (Ouweneel 1996: 45, 50).

However, bodily co-presence – where people are assembled in the same space, affecting each other by their presence (Heider and Warner 2010: 88)

– has been very important over the centuries. In fact, neighbourliness may have been a stronger bond than kinship. As Peter Laslett argues in his influential *The World We Have Lost* (1983: 79), kinship might have historically been a consequence and not a cause of community formation. This does not mean that neighbourhood communities were some kind of Arcadian democracies. Also Collins (2004) stresses the fundamental non-egalitarian character of social interactions. There are always leaders and followers; human society is fundamentally hierarchical. Someone carries the load of the neighbourhood. Despite this, most theorists seem to appreciate Durkheim's view that 'the very possibility of society is contingent upon individuals being incorporated into [the] corporeal experience of solidarity' (Heider and Warner 2010: 77).⁴ Doing patterned physical things together, even as simple as following the rhythms of daily life, induces feelings of togetherness in participants.

In all, much depends upon the intensity of interaction. This can be discussed by the four essential ingredients of Collins's theory (Collins 2004: 47–64): co-presence, barriers, mutual attention and shared mood or collective consciousness. Intensive participation in social interaction creates a lot of EE, and perhaps a stronger bonding than much lower-intensity social interaction. Most current neighbourhoods in Latin America do not stem from centuries-old solidarities. Their direct interaction chain goes back a few generations at the most (although foundational interaction chains, as cultural memory, would be much older). Usually, it brings people together from different rural and sometimes urban backgrounds. The barrier to outsiders, produced during interaction, is much stronger the more intensive participation is; hence the recognition of a kind of dichotomy from low and steady to fiery and effervescent. Locations with low social interaction would most certainly hardly produce barriers to outsiders. The same can be said for the mutual focus of attention that is required for a successful social interaction ritual in Collins's eyes. The latter eventually produces a 'shared mood' at the fiery effervescent side, or as Heider and Warner suggest, 'collective consciousness' at the steady side (Heider and Warner 2010: 89–90). A shared mood of the effervescent type is described in Palloma Menezes chapter on the Morro Santa Marta favela in Rio de Janeiro. The inheritance perils behind Erika Grajeda's narrative about Mexico's pioneer squatters and self-builders is potentially fiery interaction as well; as is life in the shadows of the high-rise apartment buildings in Buenos Aires described by Jan Dohnke and Corinna Hölzl. A case not truly fiery but certainly close to effervescent, I think, is offered by Cristina Inclán-Valadez with her description of life in Geo Bosques of Cuernavaca, Mexico. On the steady side, we find the neighbourhoods described by Fernando Luiz Lara in Belo Horizonte, Brazil, and Peter Kellett in Santa Marta, Colombia. Their accents on the buildings in the neighbourhoods are examples of calm progress. Different are the

neighbourhood histories of Medellín and Buenos Aires, which are hidden somewhat in the chapters by Gerard and Marijke Martin, Tamera Marko and Jota Samper, and Fernando Ostuni and Jean-Louis Van Gelder. They look at these cities from a bird's-eye view. Michaela Hordijk's piece on Lima also suggests a steady side.

Urbanists all stay in neighbourhoods one way or another. Wilson calls his look at the city 'multicellular' – many neighbourhoods next to each other. He thinks that as part of an 'ancestral natural environment' it has really ancient roots and that this ancient part needs to be recreated in the neighbourhoods in order for us 'to feel fully at home in our cities' (Wilson 2011: 383). The conclusion from his work in his own neighbourhood leaves no doubt:

After five years of listening and reflecting on my city of Binghamton from an evolutionary perspective, I feel in a strong position to advise about how to raise its valleys into hills. ... An organism the size of a city must be multicellular. The cells are small groups of people with the authority to manage their own affairs in ways that contribute to, or at least do not interfere with, the larger common good. People come alive in small groups working together to solve problems of common interest. That is where they feel safe, known and liked as individuals, and respected for their contributions to the group. It is the ancestral human social environment, and we will never fully be at home when we depart from it. (Wilson 2011: 383)

In line with this, the films produced by JADAT are expressions of a regenerated Andean story schema, a way of collaborative storytelling based on Andean self-schemas that trigger behaviour according to the concepts of *hanan/hurin*, *pachacuti* and *tinkuy* (binding, conjoining of complementary forces or entities, a power measurement) in order to improve the neighbourhood. The interaction as communal action by young men and women was space related, for it must unite the four corners of a gridironed settlement with the centre. At the same time it is time related, for it occurs during a *pachacuti* of generational chaos. Breathing new life into the community means in Cajamarquilla that girls must stimulate men to participate in communal actions both at the central plaza and at the edges of the district. If 'belonging' is a kind of EE, the outcome of a performance, 'neighbourhood studies' would focus on social interaction theory.

Visitors to Cajamarquilla at the time saw with their own eyes that JADAT's project worked. Working on the films – intensive interactions at the local level – produced high levels of EE, which paid off. Gang violence diminished and eventually disappeared from the neighbourhood. But that was almost a side issue, for their actions were directed at the recreation of community after violence. By distributing their films on DVD among the adolescents of the community, and projecting them in the central plaza,

JADAT created simulators in their viewers' minds for future action and intensively extended their EE to the others in the neighbourhood. JADAT aims at a regeneration of respectful social attunement – which will be in line with the schemas triggered by the form of the 'in the four corners, in the centre' characteristic for the settlement of Cajamarquilla itself. Drawing on sometimes very ancient cultural resources, grounded in their mental schemas by a large interaction ritual chain, the youth of this district are designing a truly urban future – a new community in a globalized world. The Young Adolescents Determined to Succeed show, beyond a doubt, that not only is city improvement neighbourhood-based, but that all urban studies are in fact neighbourhood studies.

Notes

1. See the JADAT website at <http://jadat.spaces.live.com/>. Retrieved 10 October 2009.
2. Julie Ha Tran, another literary scholar, asks the correct questions: '[H]ow does the city construct itself as an organic entity? Where is its mind, its heart? Who draws the contours of this body and decides on the abject wastes to cast out of it? Julie Ha Tran, a course website, 'Urban Bodies: The City-Body Metaphor in American Literature and Culture', at <http://english.ucdavis.edu/courses-schedules/p-ucd/2011/Winter/4/>. Retrieved 4 April 2013, from a course at the University of California at Davis. Not so long ago, critic Peter Ackroyd (2000) described London in this way; and note this website: http://www.stanford.edu/dept/german/berlin_class/index.html. Retrieved 4 January 2013; accompanying a January-February 2013 course at Stanford University.
3. The price to be paid, of course, is distortion, if the schema used to encode it does not fit well. Research over the past few decades has confirmed Bartlett's suggestions.
4. In fact, Heider and Warner quote Mellor and Shilling 1997:1.

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